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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the production of a videotape which shows how visual sociology can be used to explicate the varying images which are associated with different status groups and which create conflict about the environment. The videotape, *Alternative Images of the Mississippi*, Images I, shows in a systematic sociological fashion, the range of images of the physical environment which are held by environmentalists active in the Hiawatha Valley portion of the Upper Mississippi River Basin below the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Area. It was the intention of the project to show those images in such a way that they would be recognized as important scientific statements in the debates, contests, and litigation over the environmental quality in the Hiawatha Valley. The paper describes the interviewing, editing, and production processes used. Previous research on environmental issues was utilized to prepare for the interviewing. Also presented in the paper is a rationale for the use of visual sociology in the form of videotaping. The rationale draws upon Habermas' categories of scientific interest. Of the three described, the "empirical-analytic," the "hermeneutical," and the "critical," it is the second of these, the "hermeneutical" which lends itself to visual sociology in general and videotaping in particular. Hermeneutical science studies the values, assumptions, and images of groups and provides a systematic analysis of where various groups are coming from. (Author/RM)

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DOING SOCIOLOGY WITH VIDEO TAPE*

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*My special appreciation to my friend Ed Mack who got me started video-taping. I also want to express my thanks to my colleagues in the Department of Sociology who accepted my interest in this rather unusual undertaking. Finally, I want to thank Ms. Kathy Drazkowski for her gracious assistance in typing up the tapes and this paper.

Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (Boston, MA, August, 1979).

ABSTRACT

A rationale for the use of visual sociology in the form of video taping is presented. It draws upon Habermas' categories of scientific interests. Of the three he describes, the "empirical-analytic," the "hermeneutical" and the "critical," it is the second of these, the "hermeneutical" with its emphasis upon "the maintenance and enlargement of the inter-subjectivity of possible action-orientating agreement," which lends itself to visual sociology in general and video taping in particular. The paper describes how a particular video tape was produced following this rationale. The subject matter was images of habitat. Previous research on environmental issues was utilized to prepare for the interviewing. The resulting tape, used in a series of community programs sponsored by the Minnesota Humanities Commission, shows how visual sociology can be used to explicate the varying images which are associated with different status groups and which create conflict about the environment.

There is a national, even international, question today regarding the relationship of human beings to their habitat. The magnitude of this problem has been recognized in the recent United Nations Conference on The Human Habitat in Vancouver, B.C. The term habitat covers an array of issues including access to decent housing, neighborhood control, social and racial integration, safety, transportation and the quality of the environment (AAAS, 1976). The last of these, the quality of the physical environment in which human beings live, is the subject of this paper. I seek to describe the strategic role of video taped productions in presenting and analyzing environmental images in the debate over the quality of the human habitat.

In my personal experience with administrative hearings on environmental issues and in my reading of various national studies the acceptance of testimony comes down to a fundamental distinction between "utilitarian" statements and so-called "personal values." In formal proceedings the representatives of agencies and corporations seldom recognize anything other than "factual" statements. Corporate and agency counsel in contested hearings do not even bother to reply to such value statements. They do not recognize them as being admissible as fact!

The irony of this studied response, however, is that coalitions of people bearing just such values form the leadership of a large and effective environmental movement which has succeeded in paralyzing the "utilitarian" process of building dams, siting refineries and power plants and the

stripping of coal. The result is a contradiction between "facts" which are admissible as evidence in formal proceedings, and values which are not. The latter, meanwhile, form the basis for the "factual" halting of various economic activities.

The objective of the video tape, *Alternative Images of the Mississippi*, I (Images I) described below was to show, in a systematic sociological fashion, the range of images¹ of the physical environment which are held by environmentalists active in the Hiawatha Valley portion of the Upper Mississippi River Basin below the Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Area. It was the intention of the project to show those images in such a way that they would be recognized as important scientific statements in the debates, contests and litigation over environmental quality in the Hiawatha Valley.

THE APPROACH

How can the images held by different groups of residents best be conveyed? When I began planning the video tape, I found that there already were attitudinal studies of the residents of the counties along the River (Baron, et.al., 1972). There were special reports which gave numerical values to different physical features of the environment (U.S. Army Engineer Division, North Central, 1970), or which aligned the various roles (Tribe, et.al., 1976) and organizations (Miller, 1975). I concluded that a video tape presentation of the range of views of the river environment would contribute to the debate on this particular habitat issue by showing where people were coming from when they could not agree on the

¹As used by the authors of *American Values and Habitat: A Research Agenda*. (1976), an image is "a representation or conception of a person, thing, institution, etc., held by a significant number of persons."

so-called "facts."

One of my most basic guiding assumptions has been that communal status groups, following Weber (Neuwirth, 1967), have formed definite images of their habitat. When events occur which threaten to alter the material situation and thereby their image, there is a "FIGHT" or "FLIGHT" response. Weber spells this process out in various of his writings, but especially in his discussion of class, status and party (Gerth and Mills, 1958). The problem is, however, that as Socolow (1976) has pointed out, the emphasis upon utilitarian facts in public hearings and discussions about habitat severely restrict the ability of the different parties to the dispute to hear what the others are saying. There is a failure of communication, but in a very fundamental sense.

Nor is the matter resolved by having people sit down and discuss their differences. The differences in presuppositions, reflected at least in part in different images, etc., are not strictly translatable into utilitarian terms. Yes a dollar value can be put on a duck or a panther, but it will not exhaust the meaning that its loss has in a status group's image of their habitat! There are different orders of things involved.

The approach I have used then, can best be illustrated by reference to Habermas' classification of scientific "interests" or cognitive strategies.² As Brand (1976) reports it from several sources, Habermas (1970)

...presents here the following classification of these sciences:

- (a) the 'empirical-analytical' sciences led by an interest in 'enlarging and securing the possible scope and information basis of action aimed at and controlled by results...and the technical control of 'objectivated processes'....

²I realize that there are some important unresolved philosophical issues in his approach (cf. Brand, 1976). I also recognize that he is committed to the superiority of one of these three categories of science. But while others debate the larger philosophical issues, I will, for convenience sake, use his categories.

Here, of course, are the utilitarian types of sciences. Engineers build lasers; sociologists show how the marginal worker can be retrained and employed. There are also:

- (b) the 'historical-hermeneutical' sciences guided by an interest in 'the maintenance and enlargement of the inter-subjectivity of possible action-orientating agreement....

The engineers building the lasers or the sociologists guiding retraining efforts are faced with such questions as, "Why do we need lasers?" "What's to be gained by society?" "Why train people for unfulfilling jobs?" "Why shouldn't the society be retrained, rather than the workers?" These are questions which can be understood scientifically as arising out of the values, images and presuppositions that particular groups hold in a society. The final category is:

- (c) the 'critical sciences' guided by an interest in emancipation.

I think we all can identify this position and can even think of some good examples involving lasers and the hiring of marginal workers which would fit in that particular category.

These scientific "interests" for Habermas determine the (a) object field, (b) the methodology and (c) applicability of results (Brand, 1976). When there is a clash of images between different communal status groups over what is to be done with the habitat, I think that it can be examined by a hermeneutical approach. When conflicting images are at the bottom of the dispute, I think that qualitative methodologies, including visual media, can contribute to the "maintenance and enlargement of...action-orientating agreement." When communal status groups clash with other status and class groups in the society over what to do with the habitat or any other issue, the results of qualitative research directed at the parties to the dispute can be used to scientifically analyze points of agreement

and disagreement. In fact, this has already been done.

Environmentalists and industrialists, in unofficial capacities, have met and delineated the major points of agreement and disagreement over the siting of coal-fired power plants which arose out of the conflict in the so-called Four Corners area. They candidly laid out in the discussions where each of the parties to the conflict were "coming from." The results of their efforts are reported in the Report of the National Coal Policy Project, Vols I and II (Murray, 1978). Sociological analysis which uses video taping as I describe it here, has a similar role to play in examining the underlying images held by various parties to a dispute.

Kevin Lynch sums up the relationship between images and policy in his Foreward to Environmental Knowing:

The diverse ways in which different groups see the same place are important for public policy. Critical for public policy also are the fascinating similarities, arising from features of the environment itself, or from our common biological heritage, or, as the Duncans so nicely illustrate, from similarities in the nature of the social networks within groups that at first glance may seem wildly dissimilar. Similarities of cognition are particularly useful in making city policy. They are essential if people are to communicate and cooperate with one another. Then why not teach each other how to see the world, both to build those social bridges and also to enrich our common experience?...Literature (and also painting and photography, of course) is a mine of compelling perceptions of perceiving (Moore and Gellledge, 1976).

The second category outlined by Habermas seems to encompass just this sort of analysis.

"Hermeneutical" science then is interested in the possibility of "action-orientating agreement."³ I understand this to mean the scientific study of the values, assumptions, images, etc., of communal groups, and

³Note that I do not deal with the "critical" category. Analysis with that "interest" in mind is, of course, just as much a possibility. My general cognitive strategy follows the "hermeneutical" rather than the critical. That choice, as Weber has already noted, is a personal decision.

their relations with one another. In modern, complex societies it means systematic analysis of where various groups are "coming from." It seeks to elucidate different values and presuppositions with the objective of overcoming conflict and generating some sort of operating consensus.

Video taping is a medium of research which lends itself very nicely to a "hermeneutical" approach to the study of social behavior. First, it is a qualitative medium. It is able to convey nuance, social cues and the complexity of language which contributes to inter-subjective understanding. It is, as it were, a more wholistic medium of analysis, in both the literal sense of the physical person, speech, context, expressions, etc., and in its ability to present all these dimensions simultaneously.

Second, the editing process itself allows for a conceptually clear "visual" analysis. It occurs when the various parties to the dispute have been interviewed and the raw data is on tape. The materials can be rigorously structured through this process. Lofland (1971) has described in detail how this analysis can be done with tape recorded interviews. Video tape simply extend the range of qualitative research.

The use of video tape does not depart from the fundamental objectives of sociology. But it recognizes that sociologists are not all doing the same thing. Furthermore, it should release those of us interested in doing "visual sociology" of a qualitative sort from having to defend our work because it is somehow "soft" and "unscientific." Just because it does not lend itself to the simpler utilitarian tasks does not mean that it is unscientific. Indeed, physical bridges do not get built until social bridges are constructed which will carry the weight of conflict and competition. Video taping should be recognized as part of another disciplined approach to the study of social behavior. It is especially useful, I think, in doing

"hermeneutical" analysis of the values, presuppositions and images of the communal status groups which comprise much of our society today.

DOING VIDEO

In the video tape entitled Alternative Images of the Mississippi, I have presented a range of environmental positions on the problems facing the Hiawatha Valley section of the Upper Mississippi River. I have been a student of citizen organizations for a number of years. As a result, I have a great deal of background in the subject of voluntary organizations. I know how they work internally and in interorganizational relations. But I had not dealt with the question of the images they held of their environment; nor had I probed the values and presuppositions about their situation upon which their actions were based.

The first step was a prototype video tape. In my community studies class the students and I interviewed, and then recorded on black and white video tape, the definition of issues as well as the images of the Mississippi held by the board members of a local environmental organization called Citizens for a Clean Mississippi, Inc. It is an organization to which I belong and which has over two thousand members dedicated to fighting the various forms of pollution of the Mississippi River. We compared their views with those of the Board of the Citizen Participation Work Group of the Great River Environmental Action Team (GREAT). GREAT is sponsored by the U.S. Corps of Engineers and brings together the many different agencies and organizations with an interest in the Mississippi. It draws from some one hundred and fifty organizations, ranging in type from the Barge Owners Association to the Sierra Club.

The first study I examined in doing the prototype was an attitudinal survey conducted by the Water Resources Research Center, of residents in

counties along the Mississippi River (Baron, et.al., 1972). It showed that the river was perceived as a sewer, as a resource for industrial manufacturing and for transportation. It also showed that the respondents desired it as a boating, recreational and aesthetic resource (Appendix A).

The second one I used was done by the Corps of Engineers in which were listed, with numerical value, every conceivable environmental feature, from a tall bluff to a factory, on the river (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1970). These values were based on informal ratings by various agency personnel (Appendix B).

These two studies and my previous research on citizen organizations were used to put together a series of open-ended questions for an interview schedule. The board members of the two organizations were then interviewed on video camera. When the taped interviews were completed, they were edited and put together in a one-hour black and white video tape which contrasted the definition of issues, experiences and images of the river environment of the board members of the two groups.

The prototype showed that the board members of the environmental action group were more cohesive, shared more experiences of the river and a common definition of the issues. They called themselves "river watchers." The members of the Citizen Participation Board were as disparate in views and experiences as the activist group was consistent.

After the prototype was completed, I was approached by the Director of the Minnesota Humanities Commission and asked to do a series of community programs on environmental issues in the Hiawatha Valley. I requested and received from the Commission the first grant for community programming with video tape.

As I prepared for the interviews which are the basis for Images I, I drew upon this prototype for experience and guidance. I drew upon additional social science research for the Images I. One of the most helpful pieces to me were the reports, in the form of two published books, of a national study group convened to try to resolve the issues surrounding the construction of the Tock's Island Dam on the Delaware River (Tribe, et.al., 1976; Feiveson, et.al., 1976). The most important chapter in the two books is Socolow's. He reports the different images that persons in different positions had of the dam project. He showed that the occupant of each position had an image of the preferred state of the environment.

Socolow provides a summary, in image form, of the perspective of each party to the dispute. There is a member of the Corps of Engineers, a park official, a planner in a state agency, a local mayor, a Washington based planner, an ecologist, a conservationist, a recreationalist and an esthete (Appendix C).

The other main source for background on Images I was a study conducted by Delbert Miller and funded by Resources for the Future. It also described the conflicts in the Delaware River Basin (Miller, 1975). Using his study I was able to specify organizations and their positions on an array of environmental issues (Appendix D).

A wide range of sociological and social scientific information was provided by the above studies. As a result I had (a) a set of general public attitudes and images, (b) a set of statuses, (c) the images related to them, and (d) the environmental, industrial and governmental organizations in which they were located. Consequently, I knew who to interview in order to obtain a full range of images, what questions to ask in the open-ended

interview. And I knew approximately what they would say.

INTERVIEWING, EDITING AND PRODUCTION

I used a semi-structured interview schedule which was a modified version of the prototype study. The strategy was to interview only environmentalists: the ecologist, conservationist, recreationalist and esthete. I planned on taping the community meetings and expected the other views to come out in the panel and resident reactions. The concentration on a limited array of images helped focus the tape. It also kept it short (one-half hour).

The interviews were conducted in the homes and offices of the six respondents. A color porta-pak was used and a graduate of the University's audio visual program did the camera work. He took complete charge of the equipment. He generally worked with one camera, two microphones and two sets of lights.

The one taping technique which I tried to get across to him was to focus as much as possible on the entire physical person. This idea, from Heider (1976) is that the camera should pick up as much of the total person as practical so the audience can make a "social" identification based on a full range of non-verbal and verbal cues. The results indicate this is still largely an ideal. Photographers are fascinated with the faces rather than the entire "persona."

This same concept was carried over into the editing of the tape. In the beginning each respondent was shown for a period of several minutes, i.e., a section was edited for that duration. They were shown as they described particular concerns. For instance, the biologist was shown in his classroom. These segments were long enough so that the audience could

make a social evaluation of them as persons.

The interviews, which I personally conducted, were recorded in color on video tape. They lasted from one-half to one hour. Each person was sent a complete copy of the Humanities Commission grant application and a copy of the interview schedule. They knew what the total project involved, where the money was coming from, the objectives of the interview, and the ultimate objective of doing the video tape itself.

Finally, each respondent was asked to sign a release allowing the taped material to be used for educational purposes. The purpose here was to keep the process as open as I could.

Interviewing turned out to be very time consuming. Getting the equipment together, getting transportation arranged, driving up to ninety miles roundtrip for an interview, all took a great deal of time and effort. Each interview actually took about one-half day to complete.

One of the major facilitating procedures on this part of the project was to have the video taped interviews typed up in manuscript form. They were much easier to arrange and edit this way. I was able to "script" the dialogue along the lines suggested by Lofland (1971). I could also be very precise in determining what I wanted in or out of the tape, select appropriate 35mm slides and generally control the editing process. The edited material was then given to the professional editor who used the transcripts to locate the material on the raw tapes. This saved a great deal of production time. The editor put all of the components together with studio equipment and staff.

I introduced the tape with a narrative calling attention to the issue of conflict over use of the river. At the end, on the tape, I asked the audience what they thought the future would hold for the river and what their views about it were. It was a way to speak directly to the panelists and audience and draw them into the discussion. The panel

presentations and audience reactions were taped and form the basis of Alternative Images of the Mississippi, II.

The final structure of the video tape was as follows:

- (a) an introduction with brief statements from each of the respondents about the problems of the environment along the river (3 min);
- (b) a segment with each of the environmentalists stating the problems as they perceived them, with some redundancy for effect (5 min);
- (c) verbal statements from the environmentalists with 35m slides matching their descriptions of the river (20 min);
- (d) a conclusion turning the issues to the audience for their reaction (1 min).

The material in (c) was comprised of selected statements from the environmentalists with slides showing what the statements were about. The purpose was to evoke, through the use of slides, the images spoken by the environmentalists. The whole effect was that of a relaxed trip along the river as it would have been conducted by these different individuals. Each of the environmentalists emphasized different aspects of the river: the ecosystem, the different habitats and animals in the pools created by the locks and dams, recreational use of the river and its backwaters, as well as the aesthetic enjoyment of the river by those living along its banks.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I have presented a visual sociology approach to habitat images utilizing a "historical-hermeneutical interest," showed how previous social research can be utilized in such an undertaking, and described how this can be done with the medium of video tape. The resulting tape is a systematic presentation of the environmental images held of the Mississippi River.

It is also a "scientific" rendering of their position in a socio-political conflict.

Visual sociology, in the form of video taping, is an attractive medium because it is a wholistic approach. Not only does it provide a more encompassing "picture" of the participants and the social phenomena under examination, but it also integrates. It presents data in a structured way, yes. But it allows for a more subtle interplay of the different facets of a situation when compared say, to a path diagram. Of course, when the "interest" is the values, presuppositions and images of social participants, such a complete presentation is important if the phenomenon is to be fully understood. Increasing experimentation is needed to learn how the different dimensions of social behavior can be visually articulated.

The ability to edit sociological material on video tapes is an important advantage that it and film have over other visual forms. All of the rigor of the sciences can be utilized in laying out the problem, doing the background research, constructing the interviews, doing the interviewing and then analyzing the "data." The general principles of qualitative analysis in its several forms can be utilized here. Then the editing process begins. The expertise of the sociologist can be brought to bear on the problem of "showing" behaviors. Note also that the "raw data" in the form of the original tapes, can be re-analyzed by other professionals. An objective check is provided.

Video taping may also be usable in each of the three "interest" areas used above. A "critical emancipatory" scientific use of video tape might follow the lines of Harlan County, for instance. The "empirical-analytical" interest could be used, for instance, to show the social mobility process.

An emphasis upon "model" behavior would facilitate this interest. There are many possibilities. I am currently working on a mixed media presentation on metropolitan areas. With 35mm, Super 8 and video tape, we are trying to show the basic structure of a major metropolitan area. Conceptually it appears to fall within the empirical-analytical orientation.

There is one final and important reason why video taping and other visual forms of communication should be explored: they are the most meaningful form of communication in our era. I quote the New York Times art critic, Robert Hughes:

...at the moment...the old purposes of art, the manifestation of myth and the articulation of social meaning, have largely been taken away from painting and sculpture by film, TV, and photography (1978).

It seems that one very real challenge to sociologists is to take the means of the "manifestation of myth" and "articulation of social meaning" and use them as tools to show how myth and social meaning "work" in modern, complex societies.

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Appendix A

Lower Reach Interview Data Recreational Users and Home Owners Along the Mississippi River From Anoka to Iowa

Table 1

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER MEANS TO ME

	Code	Recreation	Home	Historical	Beauty	Pollution	No Response
a)		13	3	3	2	3	4
b)		5	9	7	2	2	1
c)		18	12	10	4	5	5

Code: a) Recreational Users; b) Home Owners; c) Total

Table 2

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER'S MOST DESIRABLE QUALITIES

	Code	Recreation	Beauty	Transportation	Miscellaneous
a)		16	7	5	0
b)		10	10	2	2
c)		26	17	7	2

Code: a) Recreational Users b) Home Owners c) Total

Table 3

THE LEAST DESIRABLE QUALITY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

	Pollution	Floods	Miscellaneous
Recreational User	21	1	5*
Home Owner	23	1	2
Total	44	2	7

* Problem of transportation of pleasure boats through locks in competition with barges; no boats for rent in the Winona area; disagree with the Corp. of Engineers over water level controls; uncontrolled land use, especially boat houses

Table 4
THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE FOR THESE SHOULD BE

Uses	Code	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Fish and Wildlife	a)	21	5	3	0	0	0
	b)	12	9	4	3	0	0
	c)	33	14	7	3	0	0
Water Sports	a)	1	11	2	10	3	1
	b)	0	7	8	3	5	1
	c)	1	18	10	13	8	2
Water Supply	a)	3	6	14	5	2	0
	b)	8	7	9	1	0	0
	c)	11	13	23	6	2	0
Sewage & Waste	a)	0	0	0	2	1	26
	b)	1	0	0	1	0	25
	c)	1	0	0	3	1	51
Commercial Transportation	a)	3	7	8	8	3	0
	b)	5	2	4	14	2	0
	c)	8	9	12	22	5	0
Industry and Manufacturing	a)	1	0	1	5	20	2
	b)	0	1	2	4	19	0
	c)	1	1	3	9	39	2

Code: a) Recreational User; b) Home Owner; c) Total

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Table 5
WHICH USES OF THE MISSISSIPPI
DO YOU FEEL SHOULD BE GREATLY RESTRICTED

Uses	1st	2nd
Sewage and Waste	50	0
Water Sports	0	1
Industrial and Manufacturing	2	24
Commercial Transportation	1	4
Water Supply	1	1
	54	30

Appendix B

GUIDES FOR OUTSTANDING/ UNUSUAL/ SIGNIFICANT/ AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL VALUE INVENTORY

1. WATER AND ITS ENVIRONS

- A. Water In Motion
 - 1 Waterfalls
 - 2 Rapids
 - 3 White water streams
 - 4 Natural springs
- B. Beaches
 - 1 Agate
- C. Wetlands (significant visually) ..
 - 1 Marshes

2. LAND FORMS

- A. Rock Formations
 - 1 Balanced rocks
 - 2 Castle rocks
 - 3 Natural bridges
 - 4 Unusual outcroppings
- B. Glacial Remains
 - 1 Kames
 - 2 Eskers
 - 3 Po'holes
 - 4 Moraines
- C. Underground Caverns
 - 1 Caves
 - 2 Sinkholes
 - 1 Chasms
- D. Interesting Topography
 - 2 Canyons
 - 3 Unusual island complexes or islands over 10 acres

3. VEGETATION

- A. Trees and Shrubs
 - 1 Virgin stands (timber)
 - 2 Rare remnants
 - 3 Flowering—major orchards
 - 4 Unusual fall color
- B. Wildflowers
 - 1 Unusual masses or fields
 - 2 Rare remnants

- C. Grasses
 - 1 Prairies

- D. Aquatic Plants
 - 1 Water lilies

4. WILDLIFE—Unique Habitat

- A. Animals
 - 1 Deer
 - 2 Bear
 - 3 Fox
 - 4 Beaver
 - 5 Muskrat
 - 6 Otter
 - 1 Pheasant
 - 2 Quail
- B. Upland Game Birds
 - 3 Ruffed Grouse
 - 4 Prairie chicken
 - 5 Hungarian Partridge

- C. Birds of Prey
 - 1 Eagles
 - 2 Hawks
 - 3 Owls
 - 4 Falcons
- D. Songbirds
 - 1 Numerous
 - 1 Herons
 - 2 Egrets
 - 3 Ospreys
 - 4 Cranes
- E. Water Birds
 - 5 Loons
 - 6 Ibis
 - 7 Ducks
 - 8 Geese
 - 9 Swans

5. CULTURAL RESOURCES

- A. Modern
 - (list each festival)
 - 1 Outstanding architectural bldgs.
 - 2 Bridges
 - 3 Outstanding local festivals
 - 4 Exceptional gardens
 - 5 Museums/Art galleries
 - 1 Historical markers
 - 2 Lumber camps
 - 3 Forts
 - 4 Covered bridges
 - 5 Hills
 - 6 Trading posts
- B. Historical Structures & Places ...
 - 7 Battlefields
 - 8 Homes
 - 9 Ghost towns
 - 10 Taverns
 - 11 Old mines
 - 12 Historical trails—land & water
 - 13 Canals and locks
 - 14 Ferries
 - 1 Mounds
 - 2 Village sites
 - 3 Cache pits
 - 4 Petroglyphs
 - 5 Quarries
 - 6 Shell heaps
 - 7 Burial grounds
- C. Sites and Objects Pertaining to Early Indian Culture
 - 1 Mounds
 - 2 Village sites
 - 3 Cache pits
 - 4 Petroglyphs
 - 5 Quarries
 - 6 Shell heaps
 - 7 Burial grounds

IV. IF I LEARN TO LISTEN, YOU MAY LEARN TO CONVERSE

A. People Are Imagining Futures Very Different from One Another

- A man high in the Corps of Engineers says, "Either there is a problem with this valley or there isn't one." He means that the valley has many rivers and streams that with little notice can cause destruction and loss of life, more severe with each passing year because of the way land development increases the speed of storm runoff. He also means that the available water supply, if no further dams are built, is going to inhibit regional economic development; perhaps the permanent underground aquifers are already being depleted.
- A Park Service official shows his visitors a sloping cornfield upstream from the dam site and describes how it will become a site of "quality recreation" when the lake fills in: the site will become a beach (it has just the right slope) and, between it and the parking lots, there will be self-guided nature walks, ecology exhibits, shops where local craftsmen will display their works, and the oldest houses and barns of the region, transplanted to these places of highest frequency visitation so that the maximum number of people can become involved. "If the dam isn't built and there isn't a lake here to attract visitors," he argues, "the National Park Service has no business being here."
- A planner in a state agency says, "If we hadn't gotten the federal government into the area, the whole riverfront would have been overwhelmed by land developers, carving up the area for second homes. Until that far-off time when local zoning is effective, we have no choice but to get the federal government involved in restricting the area's development."
- A local mayor tells an inquiring commissioner that he doesn't see how his town can afford another ambulance to handle the accidents that the increased traffic on his roads will generate, and that a majority of his constituents oppose the dam because, with all those city people coming through, each will have to get a lock for his front door.
- A Washington-based planner says, "The number of people who live in New Jersey and commute to work in New York City is too large already. If we don't build the dam, the regional economic and population growth will be slower, and the country will be the better for it. Some of the people who would otherwise have moved to New Jersey from the states in the middle of the country will stay there and some of the people who are leaving New York City will go on past New Jersey to live in those same states; otherwise, those states will soon be losing population."
- An ecologist worries that managing the water quality in the lake behind the dam will be a continual headache, and that asking for the lake to be suitable for recreation as well as water supply is compounding the problem, both because the visitors' activities add to the waste load entering the lake and because the visitors' activities require higher minimum water quality standards to be met. He also comments, "The river is an organic unit, and how flows well over three hundred miles with hardly an obstruction. Plugging it up at mile 217 will alter the entire structure of interdependence of upstream and downstream life."

- A scoutmaster says, "The valley is perfect just as it is for getting boys and girls from suburbia into the woods for a weekend, where they won't see many people and can learn to take care of themselves. You can't find a better place for beginners to learn canoeing near here either."
- A conservationist says, "We've got to learn to accommodate to nature sometime; why not start here, while there is still some room to maneuver? If the dam is built, nuclear power plants will follow, plants now foreclosed because of the undependable flow in the dry season; that's just pushing your luck. If the dam isn't built, a lot of promising ideas about how we should accommodate to natural limits, like water metering and recycling, flood plain zoning, effluent fees for pollution discharge, energy conservation technologist, and staggered work weeks, will get a more serious hearing. The better ideas will be sorted out from the worse ones while there is still little risk in experimentation." (In the Corps' calculation of recreation benefits, it is assumed that 32 percent of the annual visits to the National Recreation Area will occur on just fourteen days--summer Sundays.)
- An esthete says, "You can see over twenty miles across the valley on a clear day, and there's hardly a work of man in sight. There's no other view of rolling hills anything like the one looking out over Wallpack Bend. And downstream, where each Christmas Washington's crossing is reenacted, you still see the river as it flowed in 1776 (though the bridge right at the spot does detract somewhat); even if only for its place in history, wouldn't the Delaware be a good river to leave unmanaged?"